

Message Text

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PAGE 01 LOME 00452 281615Z

47

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SUBJECT: MULTILATERAL AFFAIRS: INFORMATION ON TOGO'S PARTICI-
PATION IN MULTILATERAL AFFAIRS

REF: STATE 037591

FOLLOWING SUBMISSION IS KEYED TO QUESTIONS IN PARA 7 OF REFTTEL:

A. 1. GOT REGARDS ITS PARTICIPATION IN MULTILATERAL FORUMS
PRIMARILY AS EXPRESSION OF ITS SOVEREIGNTY. ONLY RARELY DOES IT
SEEM TO FEEL THAT RESOLUTIONS PRODUCED BY INTERNATIONAL ORGANI-
ZATIONS HAVE EFFECT ON TANGIBLE TOGOLESE INTERESTS. THUS, TOGOLESE
POSITIONS ARE MORE OFTEN INFLUENCED BY SYMBOLIC CONSIDERATIONS
THAN BY SPECIFIC CALCULATION OF BENEFITS AND DEFICITS.

2. TOGO REALIZES THAT AS SMALL, DEVELOPING COUNTRY, IT HAS NO
INDIVIDUAL INFLUENCE IN WORLD AFFAIRS. THEREFORE, GOT REGARDS
IT AS HIGHLY IMPORTANT TO JOIN IN COMBINATIONS OF COUNTRIES
WHICH DO INFLUENCE DECISIONS OF MULTILATERAL ORGANIZATIONS.
TOGO AUTOMATICALLY SUPPORTS AFRICAN AND THIRD-WORLD POSITIONS
WHEN THERE IS CONSENSUS, AND WOULD ONLY BE TEMPTED TO SET
ITSELF UP IN OPPOSITION TO AN AFRICAN OR THIRD-WORLD CONSENSUS
WHEN TANGIBLE INTEREST TO GOT IS INVOLVED, E.G. SUPPORT FOR THE
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PAGE 02 LOME 00452 281615Z

CONSENSUS WOULD STIMULATE DOMESTIC POLITICAL TENSIONS. WHEN

AFRICAN OR THIRD-WORLD CONSENSUS DOES NOT EXIST, TOGO FREQUENTLY ABSTAINS SINCE IT OFTEN HAS LITTLE INTRINSIC INTEREST IN QUESTION AND DOES NOT WANT TO TAKE POSITION WHICH WOULD COMPLICATE EVENTUAL ACHIEVEMENT OF CONSENSUS WITH OTHER SMALL COUNTRIES.

3. TOGO'S POSITIONS IN INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCES ARE ALSO INFLUENCED BY DESIRE NOT TO COMPLICATE RELATIONS WITH ACTUAL OR POTENTIAL AID DONORS. THUS, TOGO EXERCISES RESTRAINT IN ITS VERBAL ATTACKS ON FRANCE, ITS MAJOR BILATERAL DONOR. EXPECTATION OF ARAB FINANCING INFLUENCES POSITION ON MIDDLE EAST ISSUES. TOGO'S SECOND LARGEST DONOR, EUROPEAN DEVELOPMENT FUND, BECAUSE OF MULTI-NATIONAL NATURE, IS NOT CONSIDERED LIKELY TO TIE ASSISTANCE TO POLITICAL CONSIDERATIONS. NORTH KOREA PROVIDES SMALL BUT HIGHLY APPRECIATED ASSISTANCE IN MILITARY AND POLITICAL FIELDS, AND TOGO'S SUPPORT OF NORTH KOREANS IN INTERNATIONAL FORUMS IS AUTOMATIC. EMBASSY HAS NO EVIDENCE THAT CHINESE ASSISTANCE HAS BEEN LINKED TO POLITICAL CRITERIA. US GIVES NO BILATERAL AID TO TOGO EXCEPT SELF-HELP AND P.L. 480 HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE.

4. IN GENERAL, REGIONAL ORGANIZATIONS ARE MORE IMPORTANT TO TOGO THAN INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS. IT HAS SHOWN, FOR EXAMPLE, MORE INTEREST IN PUSHING CANDIDACIES FOR POSITIONS IN REGIONAL ORGANIZATIONS THAN IN UN FAMILY. IT ALSO DESIRES, FOR PRESTIGE AND ECONOMIC REASONS, TO ESTABLISH LOME AS INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE SITE AND EXPRESSES INTEREST IN REGIONAL AFFAIRS BY HOSTING NUMEROUS INTER-AFRICAN SEMINARS AND OTHER MEETINGS.

5. ONE SPECIFIC ISSUE IS POTENTIAL MAJOR INFLUENCE ON TOGO'S PARTICIPATION IN INTERNATIONAL FORUMS. TOGO IS PREPARING TO PRESENT ITS CASE FOR RE-OPENING OF STATUS OF EASTERN REGION OF GHANA (FORMERLY BRITISH TOGOLAND). TOGO HOPES TO GET ISSUE ESTABLISHED AS REGULAR MATTER FOR DEBATE IN INTERNATIONAL FORUMS AND EVENTUALLY SECURE INTERNATIONAL RESOLUTIONS FAVORABLE TO ITSELF. IF TOGO SUCCEEDS IN ESTABLISHING EX-BRITISH TOGOLAND AS INTERNATIONAL ISSUE, IT WILL, OF COURSE, BECOME MORE SENSITIVE TO CONCERNS OF COUNTRIES WHICH SUPPORT ITS VIEW. THIS ISSUE HAS ALREADY INFLUENCED TOGO'S POSITIONS ON SUCH ISSUES AS SPANISH SAHARA, WHERE IT HOPES THAT ANY RESOLUTION WILL SET PRECEDENT USEFUL TO TOGOLESE IRREDENTIST CLAIMS. IT HAS HAILED MINOR BORDER RECTIFICATION BETWEEN SENEGAL AND GAMBIA AS PRECEDENT

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PAGE 03 LOME 00452 281615Z

THAT AFRICAN BORDERS INHERITED FROM COLONIAL POWERS ARE NOT SACROSANCT AND CAN BE ADJUSTED TO REFLECT AFRICAN REALITIES.

B.1. TOGO IS INFLUENCED BY OTHER COUNTRIES IN APPROXIMATE PROPORTION TO THEIR SIZE AND PROPINQUITY. TOGO SEEKS GOOD RELATIONS WITH ALL ITS NEIGHBORS, ALTHOUGH AS IN CASE OF BENIN, THIS IS NOT ALWAYS EASILY ACHIEVED. WITH GHANA IT TRIES TO SEPARATE ITS TERRITORIAL DISPUTE FROM OTHER ASPECTS OF ITS RELATIONS.

IT PAYS PARTICULAR ATTENTION TO NIGERIA, WITH WHICH IT IS ENGAGED IN EFFORT TO BUILD REGIONAL ORGANIZATIONS WHICH TRANSCEND FRANCOPHONE/ANGLOPHONE SPLIT IN WEST AFRICA. ZAIRE HAS SPECIAL INFLUENCE ON TOGO BECAUSE PRESIDENT EYADEMA ADMIRES POLITICAL STYLE OF PRESIDENT MOBUTU AND HAS USED ZAIRE AS POLITICAL MODEL. TOGO'S SOLE POLITICAL PARTY IS CONCEIVED IN IMAGE OF ZAIRE'S "MOVEMENT POPULAIRE DE LA REVOLUTION." EYADEMA HAS ALSO COPIED MOBUTU'S PERSONALITY CULT AND ZAIRE'S SEARCH FOR "AUTHENTICITY."

2. THESE INDIVIDUAL AFRICAN STATES OFTEN JOIN IN SUPPORT OF AN AFRICAN OR THIRD-WORLD POSITION ON MULTILATERAL ISSUES AND THEIR INFLUENCE REINFORCES TOGO'S INCLINATION TO TAKE PART IN CONSENSUS. WHEN THEY ARE NOT UNITED, TOGO WEIGHS ITS POSITION WITH EXTREME CARE IN ATTEMPT TO CAST ITS VOTE IN MANNER WHICH MINIMIZES IMPACT ON THESE IMPORTANT BILATERAL RELATIONS.

C.1. HOST GOVERNMENT DOES NOT FULLY INSTRUCT ITS DELEGATIONS TO MAJOR INTERNATIONAL MEETINGS. FOREIGN MINISTER HAS TOLD US, FOR EXAMPLE, THAT GOT PERMREP TO UN HAS BETTER FEELING FOR HOW AFRICAN CAUCUS WILL VIEW AN ISSUE AND, THEREFORE, HOW TOGO SHOULD VOTE. WE KNOW, HOWEVER, THAT IN MEETINGS SUCH AS INTERNATIONAL COFFEE ORGANIZATION, TOGO'S REPRESENTATIVES ARE INSTRUCTED ON TECHNICAL MATTERS AND UNPREPARED SHOULD POLITICAL ISSUES ARISE. IN MOST INTERNATIONAL FORUMS, TOGOLESE DELEGATION IS INSTRUCTED TO FOLLOW OAU CAUCUS AND ONLY OCCASIONALLY GIVEN SPECIFIC INSTRUCTIONS TO ATTEMPT TO INFLUENCE FORM THAT CONSENSUS TAKES. IN ONE SPECIFIC INSTANCE--ZIONISM-RACISM RESOLUTION IN THE 1975 UNGA--WE BELIEVE INSTRUCTION ON HOW TO VOTE ON PROCEDURAL RESOLUTION IN PLENARY ORIGINATED IN LOME. WE WERE ALSO TOLD THAT DECISION TO ABSTAIN ON SUBSTANTIVE RESOLUTION WAS LOGICAL OUTCOME OF THIS INSTRUCTION SINCE TOGOLESE DELEGATION HAD ARGUED ISSUE NEEDED FURTHER DISCUSSION BEFORE IT COULD BE RESOLVED. AFRICANS, OF COURSE, WERE DIVIDED.

CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 04 LOME 00452 281615Z

2. WE HAVE NO EVIDENCE OF TOGOLESE REPRESENTATIVE TAKING POSITION IN INTERNATIONAL FORUM WHICH WAS NOT CONSISTENT WITH KNOWN OPINIONS OF EYADEMA. SHOULD A DELEGATE TAKE SUCH POSITION, WE BELIEVE HE WOULD BE SWIFTLY AND DECISIVELY CALLED TO ACCOUNT.

3. ON MANY ISSUES OF POLITICAL NATURE IN MULTILATERAL FORUMS, MFA IS NOT PREPARED OR STAFFED TO ANALYZE SITUATION AND PREPARE MEANINGFUL POSITION PAPERS. THUS, TOGOLESE POSITIONS ON SUCH ISSUES AS DEMILITARIZATION OF GUAM ARE NOT BASED ON HISTORICAL AND POLITICAL REALITIES. ON THESE ISSUES, TOGOLESE CONSIDER THEIR CONTRIBUTION TO THIRD-WORLD/AFRICAN CONSENSUS ONLY WAY TOGO CAN EXERCISE ITS VOTE IN WAY CONSISTENT WITH TOGOLESE NATIONAL INTERESTS. THUS FACTS ARE IRRELEVANT, AND MFA IS MOST UNLIKELY TO MODIFY GENERAL INSTRUCTIONS TO VOTE WITH OAU CON-

SENSUS.

D. POLITICAL POWER IN TOGO IS EXERCIZED BY PRESIDENT AND ONLY OFFICER CORPS OF ARMY IS ABLE IN SOME MATTERS TO RESTRAIN HIS COURSE OF ACTION. NO TOGOLESE REPRESENTATIVE TO INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS HAS POLITICAL BASE WHICH WOULD PROTECT HIM IN SLIGHTEST FROM PRESIDENT'S DISPLEASURE.

E.1. BECAUSE US MAKES NO SUBSTANTIAL CONTRIBUTION TO TOGOLESE DEVELOPMENT EFFORTS, AND IS RARELY HELPFUL IN SUPPORTING TOGOLESE FOREIGN POLICY CONCERNS, GOT TENDS TO REGARD US REPRESENTATIONS MULTILATERAL ISSUES AS NOT VERY RELEVANT TO ITS DECISION-MAKING PROCESS. THIS IS ESPECIALLY TRUE BECAUSE US DEMARCHES ARE NEVER PRESENTED WITH TANGIBLE CARROT TO REWARD FORTHCOMING BEHAVIOR. WE DO NOT, FOR EXAMPLE, SEEK FAVORABLE TOGOLESE VOTE ON A MIDDLE EAST ISSUE BY OFFERING TO MODIFY US POSITION ON A SOUTHERN AFRICAN ISSUE OF CONCERN TO TOGO.

TOGO, THEREFORE, DOES NOT EXPECT TO GAIN BY BEING RECEPTIVE TO US REPRESENTATIONS OR TO LOSE CONTRIBUTION TO TOGOLESE DEVELOPMENT BY DISREGARDING US INTERESTS. UNFORTUNATELY, EMBASSY BELIEVES MFA HAS CONCLUDED THAT US DEMARCHES IN LOME, WASHINGTON AND NEW YORK ARE ESSENTIALLY RITUALISTIC SINCE THEY ARE NOT SUPPORTED BY INDUCEMENTS TO MODIFY TOGOLESE BEHAVIOR.

2. TOGOLESE VIEW THAT US IS BASICALLY IRRELEVANT TO TOGOLESE INTERESTS CAN BE REINFORCED EVEN BY ISSUES ON WHICH OUR VIEWS
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PAGE 05 LOME 00452 281615Z

COINCIDE. ON ANGOLA, FOR EXAMPLE, US AND TOGO ARE EQUALLY CONCERNED BY SOVIET-BLOC INTERVENTION. GOT, HOWEVER, BELIEVES OUR POSITION WAS MOTIVATED BY CONCERN FOR WORLD STRATEGIC BALANCE AND NOT BY AFRICA'S STAKE IN PEACEFUL ANGOLAN SOLUTION. WHEN IT BECAME CLEAR THAT US WAS UNABLE TO PREVENT MPLA VICTORY, TOGO RELUCTANTLY RECOGNIZED MPLA GOVERNMENT.

3. GIVEN ITS VIEW OF US-TOGOLESE RELATIONS, TOGOLESE GOVERNMENT DOES NOT NORMALLY SOLICIT US GOVERNMENT SUPPORT IN MULTILATERAL MATTERS.
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